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CRITICAL NOTICES.

THE NEW "LOGIA."

1. *Sayings of our Lord, from an Early Greek Papyrus.* Edited by BERNARD P. GRENFELL and ARTHUR S. HUNT. (Frowde.)
2. *Ueber die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu,* von A. HARNACK.

PERHAPS the most remarkable thing about the recently discovered Logia of Jesus is the fact that they are thought to be remarkable. It only shows what imagination can do. Among the seven or eight Logia contained in the page of papyrus found at Behnesa, there are but three that can be regarded as novel. Yet ten years ago Prof. Resch, by research among early patristic literature, discovered close upon three hundred similar Logia, and published them under the title of *Agrapha* with all the requisite scholarly adjuncts. Practically no notice was taken by the general public of the three hundred Logia of Resch, whereas the three found in Egypt have already been made the subject of sermons with limelight effects, and an elaborate poem by Mr. William Watson. It is true that an attempt was made in an anonymous work, entitled *As Others saw Him*, to bring together the most striking of Resch's *Agrapha* in the form of two sermons by Jesus, but the ignorance of the ordinary Christian about recent research on the origins of his own religion was not to be overcome, even though the results were presented in the favourite form of fiction. The man of the street can realize the discovery of a piece of papyrus, but cannot imagine much more important discoveries made by research among the dusty tomes of the early Fathers.

In this place we are not concerned with the amount of attention the new Logia have attracted, but rather with the possibility of any new light they may throw upon the historic personality of Jesus and his relations to contemporary Judaism. For this purpose we may neglect such of the Logia as simply present variants of sayings already known from the Gospels. It would require too technical an acquaintance with the very intricate problem of the original composition of the Gospels to decide how far the new fragment throws

light on this subject. I will only draw attention to the light these fragments throw upon the well-known statement that Matthew composed his Gospel from Logia. Here at any rate we have such a collection of Logia put together, seemingly without any *Tendenz*, and at first sight presenting the appearance of a number of jottings collected together as memories of Jesus' sayings. Whether this is the case or no depends upon our judgment as to the authenticity of the new sayings to which we may now turn.

Before however doing so, some words must be said as to the two editions of the Logia which have already appeared, probably as the forerunners of many others (Prof. Resch is not likely to let the new discoveries pass unnoticed). Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have done their work well as palaeographers, but only give slight assistance with regard to the theological aspects of their discovery. Prof. Harnack, as might have been anticipated, supplies this want with admirable skill and completeness, though even his results must of course be regarded as provisional. In the case of one Logion, and that the most interesting, his theology enables him to supplement the palaeography of the first editors, and he speaks with such confidence with regard to his emendation that an outsider, like the present writer, has no option but to accept it. It should also be mentioned that Harnack considers that there are only seven Logia represented in the fragment, and ingeniously joins on the so-called fourth as a conclusion to the third. With these preliminaries I may now give the three new Logia in translated form according to Harnack.

L. 2. *Jesus saith: Except ye fast to the world ye shall in nowise find the Kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath ye shall not see the Father.*

At first sight this saying has a strong Judaizing tendency. The emphasis laid upon the Sabbath and upon fasting as prerequisites of salvation might come from any contemporary Rabbi. But closer inspection shows that the saying has rather an anti-Jewish tendency, for it is "fasting to the *world*" that is enjoined, not physical fasting; so, too, according to the parallelism of Hebrew writing and *thinking*, the observance of the Sabbath must also have a spiritual sense here. It is curious that neither of the editors see that the somewhat peculiar Greek form used, *σαββατισμε το σαββατον*, indicates a derivative meaning which directly connects it with the Great Fast, for there can be little doubt that it is a literal translation of the Hebrew, *תשבתו שבתכם*, used in Leviticus xxiii. 32 with reference to the Day of Atonement.

Thus closer inspection shows that this saying is rather a piece of

polemics against the Jewish position than a recommendation by Jesus to keep the Great Fast and the Sabbath. The saying recommended Jesus' followers to fast indeed, and to "sabbatize" the Sabbath, but in the special sense of refraining from the world and making the whole of life one long Sabbath. There is nothing in the latter part of the saying which is anti-Jewish, but the reference to the world and to the Father serves to show that this saying represents the views of the second or third generation of the Church rather than of its founder. In particular the reference to the Father seems rather to come from the circle of ideas in which the fourth Gospel grew.

L. 3. *Jesus saith: I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunkards and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth for the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart, (and see not poverty)*¹.

Here there are traces of Hebrew influence in the term "sons of men," corresponding to the familiar בְּנֵי אָדָם of later Hebrew, and in the expression "my soul grieveth," probably derived from (qy. the LXX of) Isa. liii. 10, that chapter which had so great an influence in the ideals of Jesus and on the church he founded. But here again we find definite signs of the saying being derived from a secondary stratum of Christian tradition. Jesus is represented speaking as if his earthly career had been concluded and summing up the attitude of the world to him. The reference to the "world," and specially to "the flesh," is significant in this direction, and Harnack rightly points out the Johannine colouring of this last expression. Harnack indeed draws much wider inferences from this Logion. From the expression "I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them," he deduces that the saying was derived from a Gospel in which the identification of Jesus with the Logos went even further than in John. I shall later on refer to the bearings of this inference on our conception of the character of Jesus, but meanwhile it is clear that we are here again in face of a secondary tradition.

L. 4 (5 by Grenfell and Hunt). *Jesus saith: Wheresoever men may be (there are they not) without God. (And just as one is) alone, so am I with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I.*

This is the Logion which of all those of the fragment has attracted most attention because of the seeming pantheistic tendency of it. As before mentioned, Mr. William Watson has written one of his

¹ Added by Harnack from the last line of the reverse and the first line of the recto, which the first editors make into a new Logion.

most powerful poems based upon this interpretation. But if there is one thing certain about this remarkable passage it is that it cannot bear such an interpretation, especially after Harnack's restoration of the earlier part of the passage. Harnack points out that the striking conclusion of the Logion is only a specific illustration of the more general statement in the earlier part of the Logion. The emphasis is to be laid upon the clause "I am with him." Accordingly the latter part of the Logion refers to the companionship of Jesus with the believer, even when engaged upon his daily work, and not to the identity of Jesus with the materials of that work. Curiously enough, no less than two of the *Agrapha* collected by Resch form parallels to the new saying. One of these has already been noted by the original editors, and has been translated as follows:—"Where one is, there too am I; where twain are, there too will I be" (cf. *As Others saw Him*, p. 87). But another parallel not noticed by our editors or by Harnack is still more striking. "As any of you sees himself in the mirror, so let him see me in himself" (*As Others saw Him*, p. 88; Resch, No. 36 b). To my mind the latter saying is even more striking and significant than the new Logion. It is perhaps as well that it never received wide acceptance, as it might easily lead to religious hysteria or even mania.

A more pertinent parallel for our present purpose is, however, afforded from the remarkable collection of sayings of the early Rabbis known as the *Pirke Aboth*. Here in the third chapter a discussion is raised in characteristic Rabbinic fashion as to the biblical proofs that can be given for the existence of the Shechinah, or Glory of God, among varying numbers of true believers. It exists among ten because of Ps. lxxxii. 1, where it is said "God standeth in the congregation of the godly," and the minimum to form a congregation is ten male adults. So among five (Amos ix. 6); three (Ps. lxxxii. 1); two (Mal. iii. 16). Then the passage concludes: "And whence can it be shown that the same applies even to one? Because it is said: 'In every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come unto thee and I will bless thee' (Exod. xxiii. 24)." Here is practically the same idea as the Logion, but with the important difference that it is the Spirit of God that is with the believer, and not that of Jesus. Here again, as in the first of the new Logia, there appears to be a conscious opposition to the Jewish attitude, and there is little doubt that even in the form of the conclusion of the Logion a controversial reference is made to Koheleth, x. 9: "Whoso removeth stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby." The reference to wood and stone seems naturally placed in the mouth

of the son of a carpenter, but the identification of the Spirit of God and of Jesus is alien at any rate to the Jesus of the Synoptics, and here again, as in the other two Logia, we have traces of a tendency similar to that found in the Gospel of John.

Herein consists the importance of the new fragment, as Harnack carefully points out. He concludes that it is not an extract from the Primitive Gospel from which the Synoptics were derived, nor from any Gnostic Gospel. Yet at any rate it must be, according to him, an excerpt from some Gospel, made for ritual purposes, though not from the canonical Gospels. It is certainly not an excerpt from any of the apocryphal Gospels still extant, and of those known to have existed in the second century only the Gospel according to the Egyptians answers to the requirements of the case. From the few fragments known of this Gospel Harnack deduces with considerable force that the new Logia are excerpts from it. It is synoptic in character, yet enkkratistic, pneumatistic, and mystic in tendency, and the new Logia share in all these marks. Such a Gospel as that of the Egyptians would not have received acceptance among the orthodox (for it was not declared heterodox till the third century) after the canonical Gospels had received their present form and the authority of apostolic contribution. So that, according to Harnack, both the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and that according to the Egyptians, are prior stages in the formation of the Gospel tradition before the existence of Gospels attributed to Matthew, Luke, and Mark. To these conclusions of Harnack's I will venture to add a further one, that the Gospel according to the Egyptians, if the new fragments formed part of it, arose among Jewish Christians and not in heathen circles, since in two out of the three Logia I have shown a conscious antagonism to specific Jewish conceptions derived from Rabbinic (and not only biblical) sources.

We have accordingly traces in these fragments of another Logos Gospel that derived its origin from the land, and probably from the Jewish community, in which the doctrine of the Logos was first developed. The influence of Philo on the Judæo-Christians of Alexandria gave rise, it would seem, to no less than two Gospels, that according to the Egyptians and that attributed to the beloved disciple. The question which they both raise is whether the mystical, the pneumatistic sayings which they attribute to Jesus can be regarded as authentic. It is the natural tendency of rational theologians to deny all authenticity to any sayings of Jesus that have a touch of mysticism in them, but to the higher rationalism it seems more natural to suppose that there was a mystic strain in the genius of Jesus, since otherwise it would be difficult to account for its

existence and extension among his followers. The question is of interest to Jewish readers because it is precisely against this mystic and seemingly blasphemous tendency of Christianity that the separate existence of the Synagogue has been a protest throughout the ages.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

THE "LOGIA."

THE second of the recently published Logia has exercised the minds of the learned partly because they could not detect the connexion between its two component parts: the Fast and the Sabbath. Yet when it is borne in mind that in Jesus' time the Sabbath mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 27 was the "Great Fast," צוֹמַת רַבָּא, it will at once become manifest that that verse, which the Editors and others only quote as a witness for the idiom of "sabbatizing the Sabbath" (a literal translation of the Hebrew original, and for this reason peculiar only to the LXX), forms the basis for both parts of the Logion, inasmuch as in Jesus' time the self-affliction enjoined there was universally understood to mean Fasting.

There can hardly be a doubt that Jesus, in common with the Pharisaic rabbis¹, urged the spiritual celebration of that solemn day in both its aspects of Fast and Sabbath, in accordance with the Prophets of old, see e. g. Isa. i. 13, for the proper Sabbath; Zech. vii, viii, as to fasting; Isa. lviii as to both together; the latter prophecy was probably pronounced on the "Great Fast," as it is still read on that day in the Synagogue.

The close parallelism which is thus found to exist between the two clauses explains also sufficiently the Accusative Case in τὸν κοσμὸν (= τὸ σάββατον), which was the other perplexing thing in that Logion.

M. BERLIN.

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¹ See e. g. Talmud Joma, last Mishnah; Taanith, ii. 1; and Gemara, ib.